J. Parmenter
Dublin

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I enter into no compromise with Slavery. I am for Justice, in the name of Humanity, and according to the Law of the Living God."

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the N. Y. Eve. Post.

Power of Congress over the District of Columbia--No. IX.--Concluded.

Having shown that in abolishing slavery, property would not be "taken for public use," it may be added that, in those states where slavery has been abolished by law, no claim for "compensation" has been allowed. Indeed, its manifest absurdity seems to have forestalled the setting up of such a claim.

The abolition of slavery in the district, instead of being a legislative anomaly, would proceed upon the principles of every day legislation. It has been shown already that the United States constitution does not recognize slaves as "property," yet ordinary legislation is full of precedents showing that even absolute property is wholly subject to legislation. The repeal of the law of entailments—all acts controlling the alienation of property, its disposal by will, its passing to heirs by descent, with the question who shall be heirs, and what shall be the rule of distribution among them, or whether property shall be transmitted at all by descent rather than escheat to the state—these, with statutes of limitation, and various other classes of legislative acts, serve to illustrate the acknowledged scope of the law making power, even where property is in every sense absolute. Persons whose property is thus affected by public laws, receive from the government no compensation for their losses, unless the state has been put into possession of the property taken from them.

The preamble of the United States constitution declares a fundamental object of the organization of the government to be "in order to ESTABLISH JUSTICE." Has Congress no power to do that for which it was made the *depository of power?* Has the United States Government no power to fulfil the purpose for which it was brought into being?

To abolish slavery is to take from no rightful owner his property, but to "*establish justice*" between two parties. To emancipate the slave, is to "*establish justice*" between him and his master—to throw around the person, character, conscience and liberty of the one, the same law that secures and blesses the other. In other words, to restrain by law one class of men from seizing upon another class, and robbing them at pleasure of their earnings, their time, their liberty, their wives and children, and the very use and ownership of their own persons. Congress, by possessing "exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever," has a general protective power for ALL the inhabitants of the district. If it has no power to protect *one* man, it has no power to protect another—none to protect *any*—and if it *can* protect *one* man and is *bound* to protect him, it can protect *every* man—all men—and is *bound* to do it. All admit the power of Congress to protect the masters in the district against their slaves. What part of the constitution gives the power? That clause so often quoted—"power of legislation in all cases whatsoever," equally in the "*case*" of defending the blacks against the whites, as in that of defending the whites against the blacks. Also the power conveyed by Art. 1, sec. 8, clause 15. "Congress shall have power to suppress insurrections"—a power to protect as well blacks against whites, as whites against blacks. If the constitution gives power to protect *one* class against the other, it gives power to protect *either* against the other. Suppose the blacks in the district should seize the whites, drive them into the fields and kitchens, force them to work without pay, flog them, imprison them, and sell them at their pleasure, where would Congress find power to restrain such acts? Answer—a *general* power in the clause so often cited, and an *express* one in that cited above, "Congress shall have power, to suppress insurrections." So much for a *supposed* case. Here follows a *real* one. The whites in the district are committing these identical acts upon seven thousand blacks daily. That Congress has power to restrain these acts in *one* case, all assert, and in so doing, they assert the power "in *all* cases whatsoever." For, the grant of power to suppress insurrections, is an *unconditional* grant, not hampered by provisos as to the color, shape, size, sex, language, creed or condition of the insurgents. Congress derives its power to suppress this actual insurrection from the same source whence it derived its power to suppress the *same* acts in the case *supposed*. If one case is an insurrection, the other is. The *acts* in both are the same; the actors only are different. In the one case, ignorant, and degraded, goaded by the memory of the past, stung by the present, and driven to desperation by the fearful looking for of unending wrongs to come. In the other, enlightened, elevated, unprovoked by wrongs, with cool deliberation, and by system they perpetrate these acts upon those to whom they owe unnumbered obligations for *whole lives* of unrequited service. On which side may palliation be pleaded, and which party may most reasonably claim an abatement of the rigors of law? If Congress has power to suppress such acts *at all*, it has power to suppress them *in* all.

It has been shown already that allegiance is exacted of the slave. Is the government of the United States unable to grant protection where it exacts allegiance? It is an axiom in the civilized world, and a maxim even with savages, that allegiance and protection are reciprocal and correlative.—Are principles powerless with us which exact homage of barbarians? Protection is the constitutional right of every human being under the exclusive legislation of Congress who has not forfeited it by crime. In conclusion, I argue the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the district, from art. 1, sec. 8, clause 1, of the constitution. "Congress shall have power to provide for the common defence and the general welfare of the United States." Has the government of the United States no power under this grant, to legislate within its own jurisdiction on subjects that vitally affect its interests. Suppose the slaves in the district should rise upon their masters, and the United States government, in quelling the insurrection, should kill any number of them. Could their masters claim compensation of the government? Manifestly not, even though there were no proof that the particular slaves killed were not insurgents. This is precisely the case that occurred in the Southampton insurrection: no evidence was brought to show that the slaves killed by the troops were insurgents; yet the Virginia legislature decided that their masters were not entitled to compensation. They proceeded on the principle, that a government may in self-protection destroy the claim of its subjects even to that which has been recognized as property by its own acts. If in providing for the common defence, the United States government, in the case supposed, would have power to destroy slaves both as *property* and *persons*, it surely might stop half-way, destroy them *as property* while it legalized their existence as persons, and thus provided for the common defence by giving them a personal and powerful interest in the government, and securing their strength for its defence.

Like other legislatures, Congress has power to abate nuisances, to remove or tear down unsafe buildings, to destroy infected cargoes, to lay injunctions upon manufactories injurious to public health, and thus to "provide for the common defence and general welfare" by destroying individual property, when it puts in jeopardy the public weal.

Granting, for argument's sake, that slaves are property in the district of Columbia. If Congress has a right to annihilate property in the district when the public safety requires it, it may surely annihilate its existence *as* property when the public safety requires it, especially if it transform into a protection and defence that which as *property* periled the public interests. In the district of Columbia there are, besides the United States Capitol, the President's house, the national offices, &c. of the Departments of State, Treasury, War and Navy, the General Post Office and Patent Office. It is also the residence of the President and all the highest officers of the government, both houses of Congress, and all the foreign ambassadors. In this same district there are also *seven thousand slaves*. Jefferson, in his notes on Va. p. 241, says of slavery, that "the state permitting one half of its citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms them into enemies," and Richard Henry Lee, in the Va. House of Burgesses in 1758, declared that to those who held them "*slaves must be natural enemies*." Is Congress so impotent that it cannot exercise that right pronounced both by municipal and national law, the most sacred and universal—the right of self preservation and defence? Is it shut up to the *necessity* of keeping seven thousand "enemies" in the heart of the national citadel? Does the iron fiat of the constitution doom it to such imbecility that it cannot arrest the process that *made* them "enemies," and still goads to deadlier hate by fiery trials, and day by day adds others to their number? Is *this* providing for the common defence and general welfare? If to rob men of rights excites their hate, freely to restore them and make amends, shall win their love.

By emancipating the slaves in the district, Congress would disband an army of "enemies," and enlist "for the common defence and general welfare" a body guard of friends seven thousand strong. In the last war, a handful of British soldiers, sacked Washington city, burned the capitol, the President's house, and the national offices and archives, and no marvel, for thousands of the inhabitants of the district had been "*transformed into enemies*." Would *they* beat back invasion? If Congress had exercised its constitutional "power to provide for the common defence and general welfare" by turning those "enemies" into friends, then, instead of a hostile ambush lurking in every thicket inviting assault, and secret foes in every house paralyzing defence, an army of allies would have shouted defiance, and the banner of the republic, then trampled in dust, would have floated securely over FREEMEN exulting amidst bulwarks of strength.

To show that Congress can abolish slavery in the district under the grant of power "to provide for the common defence and general welfare," I quote an extract from a speech of Mr. Madison, of Va., in the first Congress under the constitution, May 1789. Speaking of the abolition of the slave trade Mr. Madison says—"I should venture to say it is as much for the interests of Georgia and South Carolina, as of any state in the Union. Every addition they receive to their number of slaves tends to *weaken* them, and renders them less capable of self-defence. In case of hostilities with foreign nations, they will be the means of *inviting* attack instead of repelling invasion. It is a necessary duty of the general government to protect every part of the empire against danger as well internal as external. Every thing therefore, which tends to *increase this danger*, though it may be a *local* affair, yet if it involves national *expense* or *safety*, it becomes *of concern* to every part of the Union, and is a proper subject for the consideration of those charged with the general administration of the government." See Cong. Reg. vol. 1. p. 310-11.

WYTHE.

From the Philanthropist.

Slavery *versus* Population.

REPORT

Read at the Anti-Slavery Concert for the Month of January, in Lane Theological Seminary, near Cincinnati, by one of the Students, who spent the last year, 1836-7, in a Slave-holding State.—Published by vote of the Concert.

QUESTION.—"*What is the bearing of Slavery on the population of a Slave State?*

In proceeding to give a picture of slavery, I will premise that it must be limited to a narrow sphere, and drawn, for the most part, from personal observation, and from a portion of the country where the system is in its mildest form. The first consequence of the system which meets the eye of a traveller, is the difference of appearance between the rising generation there and that of the East and West. In the latter we seem to see the principle of life sparkling and leaping through its thousand channels; the voice of glee—a frame richly clothed with muscles and flesh—and a cheek mantled and glowing with red, are its strongly-marked features. In the former, though originally of the same parent stock, there is generally a wasted form—an inactive and hesitating step—and indecisive and stagnant motion. Nature seems to have denied them a fair and proportioned frame. No play of health seems to linger on their features, and they seem, like their country around them, possessed of decrepitude and decay. After they have passed the first stages of life, they assume a better appearance. They acquire a full-sized frame, and often become large and bloated. The reason of this is explained hereafter.

I will now trace out some of the causes of difference between the rising generation there and here. In the first place, there is unlimited licentiousness there. It was only during the latter part of my stay in the South that I discovered this. But from a number of different sources I was constrained to learn it. I was informed by a number of gentlemen, both married and unmarried, that there was not one young man to a thousand who had no illicit intercourse with the negroes—that some of them kept mistresses of the blacks—that the young negro women were almost universally dissolute; a fact which I imagined from their appearance and demeanor. This vicious indulgence on the part of the white population, is pampered by luxury and unrestrained moral sentiment. Now that the effect of these habits upon the constitution of a people for a number of generations must be great, it needs no physiological argument to show. If we but notice the effect of this habit upon a single generation, as it is discovered in the difference between the young men of our cities who become licentious, and those of the country, we cannot imagine that the constitution of a people, merged in licentiousness for a considerable number of generations, can come forth unimpaired and firm. I stated, that after a certain age their constitutions seemed to assume an improved aspect, and become, oftentimes, full though bloated. This is to be accounted for in two ways: after a certain period, licentious habits do not affect the constitution as they do before it is formed; and, in the next place, it is an unnatural and unhealthy state of the system, and only a loan which nature grants for a short period, but demands, in return, an abbreviation of the period of life.—"For," says Professor Dewe[illegible] "the children of libertines and rakes often have [illegible] apparently firmer and more capable of service than those born of virtuous parents; but almost invariably their lives are found shorter." At the South, I do not recollect of meeting but one man who was 70 years old, and he informed me, upon inquiry, that he was the child of a northern woman.—Another cause of depopulation is found in the fact that many of the white population are poisoned. A considerable portion of those who die natural deaths, die of diseases which are supposed to have been induced by poison. Besides this, they will tell you of many a family who died mysteriously, or of some (to the negroes) obnoxious members of it, who suddenly left the stage of life. A number of individuals in the region where I resided, had been attacked with symptoms of poisoning; some had died suddenly, others had been thrown into lingering diseases. To particularize: a negro woman belonging to the gentleman who had formerly kept a boarding-house where I resided, prophesied, that if she was sold, the members of the family would have cause to regret it. They engaged to sell her and some others a day or two afterwards, and the mother of the family was taken sick and died soon after I arrived. A gentleman sent an orphan to me whose parents had both died by a sudden and singular death. Another near neighbor, who had threatened to give his negro a thousand lashes, and actually inflicted nine hundred, in successive days, died suddenly, and, the night before, his negro said he dreamed that he must run away, which he did. His master, it was supposed by his neighbors, was poisoned. A lady also died in a similar way, neighbor to the house where I resided. The negroes commonly pound glass, which they mix with the food. This throws the individuals who take it into a lingering consumption. Did they know of means by which they might accomplish their purposes more effectually, there is little doubt but that many more would die by this means than now do.

The last cause of depopulation which I will mention, is that which arises from *duelling, murders, hanging, &c.* Two or three of these cases occurred while I was there. A number of negroes in the next county, who had a drunken master, were tasked the same in cold weather as in warm. In the severity of last winter, poorly clad as they were, they found themselves unable to perform their work. Their master whipped them severely, and gave them the same task again. As they did not perform it, he whipped them, and made an application of salt brine upon their wounds, and threatened to kill them if their work fell short again.—They anticipated his movement and killed him. And though it was urged by them that it was done in self-defence, yet the planters persisted in hanging the one who had executed the deed. In duelling, there are occasionally a few killed. A gentleman in an adjoining county was killed before I left. Another was shot down in the neighborhood where I resided. But it is to the slaves that we are to look for the legitimate effects of this system: and as they are subject to the control of their masters, and cannot tell their wrongs, we can but occasionally obtain a hint of them, and this generally from their masters, whose interest it is to give the system as mild and plausible features as possible. Besides suffering the same evils to a considerable extent, which fall upon the white population, there are many others which tend to diminish the black population of the South. A neighbor to the family where I resided had a hundred negroes left him by his father.—As his plantation could not afford employment for them all, he was in the habit of hiring them to other planters; and as those who employ them have no end to consult but the greatest amount of labor, their task is peculiarly severe,—of course slavery is a more rigid and intolerable thing to them than to the domestic slaves. This gentleman's slaves foreseeing the destiny of their children, contrived to evade the course of nature, so that there was but one child ever born into the family or stock. Another neighbor, a lady, complained because her negro had produced no more children. Her slave replied that she knew not what would become of her children, and she was not anxious to raise any. One gentleman declared to me, that if he did not compel his slave-women to nurse their children, he believed that they would let them die. This may be taken as a reply to those who assert that the slave is contented and happy. I will close by giving a brief description of a negro sale which I attended.

I had made a visit some mile or two from my residence, and, on returning, my path led by the dwelling of a neighbor. This family I found, both black and white, bitterly weeping. Upon inquiry I found that a negro-driver was present, who was going to separate some husbands and wives, some of whom were to be sold that day and removed some hundreds of miles distant, of course never to return to see wives or husbands or children. An hour or two afterwards, and there sat a group of white and black people awaiting the voice of the auctioneer. The stand is built, and one of them is summoned to ascend—his brow was knit—his face gloomy and sad. "Will you go with me if I will purchase you?" said one of the bystanders. "It is too far from my wife; I should rather not." "I'll buy you," answers another, "and ask you no favors." He was sold. The next who ascended the stand was a little boy. The big tears trickled down his cheeks while they coolly bid upon his life, his degradation, and his soul. After him a young woman, not yet twenty, and, for a negro woman, the handsomest I ever saw. She grasped a little child in her arms, and, as she wept, and silently gazed in anguish on its face, her child, as if conscious of its [illegible] more closely to her neck. They bid her off. [illegible] the scene with feelings of disgust and horror, never, I hope, to be experienced again.

In conclusion, I observed that though the leading men at the South wish to keep out all discussion, there is yet an appetite among the people for information on the subject of slavery, so eager, that they seize upon every scrap of information which they can reach. And it is my opinion that if any system of means which can be devised will reach the conscience of the slaveholder and affect the system of slavery, it is the system which the abolitionists have now in use. I have heard some southerners call it the voice of religion.

Miss Grimke's Speech.

The Halls of legislation are opened to female counsellors in Massachusetts, who appear before Committees to argue the cause of petitioners. It must be admitted that the female orator acquitted herself with remarkable self possession and a good degree of talent. There must be a curiosity to see a specimen of the speeches delivered before the Committee, and we present the introduction of the one pronounced last week on Wednesday, by Miss Angelina E. Grimke.—*Bost. Daily Advocate.*

MR. CHAIRMAN:—

More than 2000 years have rolled their dark and bloody waters down the rocky, winding channel of Time into the broad ocean of Eternity, since woman's voice was heard in the palace of an eastern monarch, and woman's petition achieved the salvation of millions of her race from the edge of the sword. The Queen of Persia—if Queen she might be called, who was but the mistress of her voluptuous lord,—trained as she had been in the secret abominations of an oriental harem, had studied too deeply the character of Ahasuerus not to know that the sympathies of his heart could not be reached, except through the medium of his sensual appetites. Hence we find her arrayed in royal apparel, and standing in the inner court of the King's house, hoping by her personal charms to win the favor of her lord. And after the golden sceptre had been held out, and the inquiry was made, 'What wilt thou, Queen Esther, and what is thy request? it shall be given thee to the half of the kingdom,—even then she dared not ask either for her own life, or that of her people. She *felt* that if her mission of mercy was to be successful, *his* animal propensities must be still more powerfully wrought upon—the luxurious feast must be prepared, the banquet of wine must be served up, and the favorable moment must be seized when, gorged with gluttony and intoxication, the King's heart was fit to be operated upon by the pathetic appeal, 'If I have found favor in thy sight, O King, and if it please the King, let *my* life be given me at my petition, and *my* people at my request.' It was thus, through personal charms, and sensual gratification, and individual influence, that the Queen of Persia obtained the precious boon she craved—her own life, and the life of her beloved people. Mr. Chairman, it is my privilege to stand before you on a similar mission of life and of love; but I thank God that we live in an age of the world too enlightened and too moral to admit of the adoption of the same *means* to obtain as holy an end. I feel that it would be an insult to this Committee, were I to attempt to win their favor by array ing my person in gold, and silver, and costly apparel, or by inviting them to partake of the luxurious feast, or the banquet of wine. I understand the spirit of the age too well to believe that *you* could be moved by such sensual means—means as unworthy of you, as they would be beneath the dignity of the cause of humanity. Yes, I feel that if you are reached at all, it will not be by *me*, but by the truths I shall endeavor to present to your understandings and your hearts. The heart of the Eastern despot was reached through the lowest propensities of his animal nature, by personal influence; yours, I know, cannot be reached but through the loftier sentiments of the intellectual and moral feelings.

I stand before you as a citizen, on behalf of the 20,000 women of Massachusetts, whose names are appended to petitions which have been submitted to the Committee of which you are the organ. These petitions relate to the great and solemn subject of American slavery—a subject fraught with the deepest interest to this republic, whether we regard it in its political, moral or religious aspects. And because it is a *political* subject, it has often been tauntingly said, that *women* had nothing to do with it. "Are we aliens, because we are *women?* Are we bereft of citizenship, because we are the mothers, wives and daughters of a mighty people? Have women *no* country—*no* interests staked in public weal—no liabilities in common peril—no partnership in a nation's guilt and shame?" Let the history of the world answer these queries. Read the denunciations of Jehovah against the follies and crimes of Israel's daughters. Trace the influence of woman as a courtezan and a mistress in the destinies of nations, both ancient and modern, and see her yielding her power too often to debase and destroy, rather than to elevate and save. It is often said that women rule the world, through their influence over men. If so, then may we well hide our faces in the dust, and cover ourselves with sackcloth and ashes. It has not been by moral power and intellectual, but through the baser passions of man. *This* dominion of women *must* be resigned—the sooner the better; "in the age which is approaching, she should be something *more*—she should be a *citizen*; and this title, which demands an increase of knowledge and of reflection, opens before her a new empire." I hold, Mr. Chairman, that American women have to *do* with this subject, not only because it is moral and as we are citizens of this republic, and as such *our* honor, happiness and well being are bound up in its politics, government and laws.

I stand before you as a southerner, exiled from the land of my birth, by the sound of the lash, and the piteous cry of the slave. I stand before you as a repentant slaveholder. I stand before you as a moral being, endowed with precious and inalienable rights, which are correlative with solemn duties and high responsibilities; and as a moral being I feel that I owe it to the suffering slave, and to the deluded master, to my country and the world, to do all that I can to overturn a system of complicated crimes, built up upon the broken hearts and prostrate bodies of my countrymen in chains, and cemented by the blood and sweat and tears of my sisters in bonds.

[The orator then proceeded to discuss the merits of the petitions.]

Virginia Colonization Society.

The Colonization Society of the State of Virginia, held its seventh anniversary in the capitol, at Richmond, Jan. 10th. Hon. John Tyler presided. Hon. H. A. Wise being present, made a "thrilling speech." Hon. John Tyler was elected President for the present year; and among the Vice-Presidents we notice, His Excellency Governor Campbell, Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, Hon. W. C. Rives, Hon. Henry A. Wise, &c. &c.! The speeches delivered at the meeting, the Richmond Whig says, "exhibited a power and variety of eloquence which has seldom been witnessed in the capitol of the Old Dominion." It says further, that "the indications of the growing popularity of this institution among the people of Virginia are unequivocal." After all this talk about honorable names, thrilling speeches and growing popularity, the following paragraph, from the same article in the National Intelligencer which gives us the foregoing information, sounds somewhat strangely.

"And yet an institution, pronounced by such authority, as well as by the strong voice of experience, to be capable of conferring such benefits upon so large a portion of the human race—upon Africa and upon our own country—this institution is *allowed to languish almost to dissolution for the want*

of an amount of money not so great as is expended in a single day in the unwilled for attempt to expel the Seminoles from the swamps and hammocks of their miserable country."

Ah—the colonization scheme wants something more than great names and great speeches—it wants common sense and christian principle.—*Philanthropist.*

From the Boston Courier.

Mr. Winslow's Sermon.

"I repeat the remark," says Mr. Winslow. "I believe that the great body of the people at the north, almost or quite to a man, are sincerely, truly, and earnestly for the abolition of slavery; and that they have ever been so."

How brother Winslow could hazard an assertion of this kind, in a grave discourse, and in face of so many facts to the contrary, is to us marvelously strange. However *he* may believe, that the "people of the north, to a man, are sincerely, truly, and earnestly for the abolition of slavery," *we* believe that the remark is without proof, without foundation, without truth. At any rate, their conduct shows them, the mass of them, to be quite the other way of thinking. Why are so many of our public servants in Congress voting to perpetuate slavery in the District of Columbia, if the people, their constituents, whose will, to a great extent, controls their votes, are, to a man, for abolition? but we need not dwell upon a point so plain. We will only express our surprise that brother Winslow should have taken a position which, to us, at least, seems so entirely untenable.

But passing over several unsound and reprehensible items in this part of the discourse, we find Mr. Winslow, in commenting upon the Alton massacre, holding the following language:—"This is the way pursued by the American Board in propagating Christianity among the heathen nations; it is one of their first principles never to *force* even a door, never to go where the civil authorities will not protect them. Some will pronounce this prudence, policy, expediency; so be it, it is such as Christ taught."

Now brother Winslow is just as much in error in regard to this point, as he is in regard to many other things; for it so happens that the Board pursue no such way; and it seems the more strange that he should make this statement, as he lives where he has daily access to the office of the Board. Let the reader peruse the following extract from the instructions given by the prudential committee of the American Board to Rev. Peter Parker, M. D. 1834:—

"The christian missionary, therefore, is not to expect, and he is not to seek, the sanctions of heathen governments to his efforts to extend the gospel. * * * And if he finds a people willing to receive him, he is to persevere in proclaiming to them the message of salvation, though laws and magistrates forbid, and even at the expense of liberty and life. He is not, indeed, to court persecution. If persecuted in one city, he may flee to another. But a people willing to receive the gospel are not to be abandoned, though all the enactments and power of their rulers should be arrayed against their instructions. * * * The *worthy* ambassador of Jesus Christ will not be deterred from his work by persecution. Knowing that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, he will be ready to scatter even that seed, if called to it by the command and providence of the Saviour."

Here then, the American Board and Mr. Winslow are directly at variance. We leave them to settle the difficulty among themselves. This, however, is but a specimen of the false view which brother Winslow has given his readers, of the whole Alton tragedy; and in this way, we believe, he has done great injustice to the character of our martyred brother Lovejoy, who suffered in defence of rights which, we should suppose must be dear to brother Winslow, as

Again, we find the following language:—"In all republican governments, where the power resides with the people, if you either do or publish anything, right or wrong, so far in advance of, or aside from, their views, as strongly to excite their indignation, a mob is the natural consequence." "Those men on the one side, who against remonstrance and in defiance of common prudence, persist in a course of action tending to excite mobs, and those, on the other hand, who engage in mobs, are the two great enemies of our free institutions." "Republican liberty is—liberty to say and do what the prevailing voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect."

As Daniel said, "I was *astonished*" above measure upon reading the above extracts. And yet the author, it appears, is, or is to be, associate editor of a religious magazine, to teach the children of the pilgrims right notions of liberty. Rarely have we set our eyes on sentiments so unrepublican, unchristian, outrageous. We regret that he should give publicity to such views of liberty, for we are constrained to think, that, upon reflection, it will be to him the occasion of much disquietude, as he must be convinced that his views are erroneous, fatally erroneous. We cannot believe that he properly deliberated before writing. Such sentiments will not be popular. In two years, they will not be popular even in Boston. The people of his own congregation will be ashamed of them. They are hostile to all sound principles of social order and good government.

Judge Blackstone says, that "civil liberty is no other than natural liberty so far restrained by *human laws* as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public." Mr. Winslow, whose definition corresponds with that given by Judge Lawless, of St. Louis, by virtue of which the *brotherhood* burnt a man alive, says, "it is liberty to say and do what the prevailing voice of the brotherhood will allow and protect." Now, permit me to ask, in view of all that we hold dear, what are we coming to, when such sentiments respecting liberty are preached, published, and received with any other than feelings of abhorrence? What greater encouragement do the mob ordinarily want, in order with confidence and impunity to perpetrate their deeds of violence and blood? "Republican liberty is liberty to say and do what the prevailing voice of the brotherhood," alias the mob, "will allow and protect." So then to be compelled to "go with the multitude," though it be "to do evil," by the "prevailing voice of the brotherhood," is liberty. To be hushed to silence by the "prevailing voice of the brotherhood" is a righteous restraint, perfectly consistent with brother Winslow's "republican liberty."—Which of the political parties of the day would receive such a doctrine? Had such a doctrine prevailed the last few years, the poor whigs, we apprehend, would not have been allowed to utter their complaints quite so freely.

Brother Winslow should remember that constitutions and laws are made for the minority, especially to protect the rights of the minority. The majority do not so need them. They are indeed the deliberate expression of the will of the majority, respecting the minority, guaranteeing to them protection in the exercise of their rights.

Should Mr. Winslow's doctrine on this subject prevail, there would soon be an end to our free institutions. For who could tell beforehand, whether what he was about to publish would "strongly excite the indignation of the brotherhood" or not.

Mr. Winslow signifies that if we go too far in advance of public sentiment, we are to expect a mob. It is, says he, a "natural consequence;" and that those who do so are as much to blame as the mob, that is, they are the "two great enemies of our free institutions."

Let us test this doctrine, by applying it to an individual case. Suppose brother Winslow were in the minority, as he is now in the majority, and the mob, being "strongly" excited to "indignation" by his very exciting and odious sermon, should surround his dwelling and do to him as pro-slavery mobs have often done to abolitionists; would *he* be willing to divide the guilt of the outrage with the brotherhood? Would he feel himself justly charged with being one of the "greatest enemies of our free institutions?" We beg the brother will consider that he may not be able to calculate so as always to be in the majority. In such a case as the above, the brotherhood might, in palliation, if not in justification, read to him the following sentiment:—"If you either do or publish any thing, right or wrong, so far in advance of, or aside from our views, as strongly to excite our indignation, a mob is the natural consequence." Under this declaration they would find themselves strongly fortified in their Lynching work.

Suffice it to say, not an apostle has bled, not a martyr has suffered, "the grandeur and glory of whose martyrdom would not be greatly obscured," if not entirely extinguished, yea, who would not be utterly condemned, if judged by the standard by which brother Winslow has been pleased to gradmate our brother Lovejoy.

In the second sermon after the resurrection, Peter and John "pressed too severely upon public sentiment," so as "strongly to excite the indignation of the brotherhood," and a "mob was the natural consequence." Were Peter and John on the one hand, and the mobites on the other, equally to blame—in other words, "the two great enemies of the" government? The magistrates afforded them "no protection," but imprisoned them and commanded them not to speak at all in the name of Jesus, as the common council of Alton did, in effect, attempt to silence brother Lovejoy. Did the apostles, when threatened and scourged, adopt the miserable, cowardly, craven-hearted policy advised by Mr. Winslow? By no means. "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye," said they, unflinchingly.

In Acts, v. 17, you find another case "of indignation." But the angel of the Lord instead of advising the apostles "to consider that the door of Providence was shut against them, [illegible] to the people all the words of this life."

The case of Stephen is directly in point, "greatly aggravated by the pertinacity of the martyr," "who against remonstrance, and in defiance of common prudence, persisted in a course of action tending to excite mobs." When threatened by the brotherhood, he preached to them a very galling sermon which "cut them to the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth,' and finally despatched him with a shower of stones; and served him right enough too, according to Mr. Winslow, for he says, "there must be in the community a strong conservative power—restraining not only rioters, but also those who excite them," which Stephen certainly did in a very high degree, and thus showed himself "the greatest enemy" of the government, of the "powers that be." And the primitive church, too, were fanatical enough to make "great lamentation over him."

Just follow through the history of Paul, and you will find abundant illustrations, showing how exceedingly unsound and unapostolic are the views expressed by brother Winslow, touching this subject, and how he has thus indirectly slandered the character of our departed brother Lovejoy. We cannot believe that he intended to do so, nor can we believe that he designed to check the tide of sympathy rising in his behalf, but such would be the natural effect of his remarks upon the community.

Brother Winslow did not, and, we presume, would not have written thus respecting Lyman and Munson, who fell, it seems, "gun in hand." Such a step would not have accorded with the views of the *conservatives.* Brother Lovejoy was identified with a very unpopular department of Christian enterprise. Of course, in the eyes of multitudes he was obstinate, "acting in defiance of common prudence." One cannot but think, in view of Brother Winslow's remarks in regard to this subject, that, had he lived in primitive times, he would have taken his stand with the old Sanhedrim *conservatives*, who were so dead set against innovation and *altruism*, and who, though very respectable in their day, consented and connived at the martyrdom of the *ultra* apostles; at least it is very clear that he would not have been found among the martyrs; would not have gone so far in advance of public sentiment.

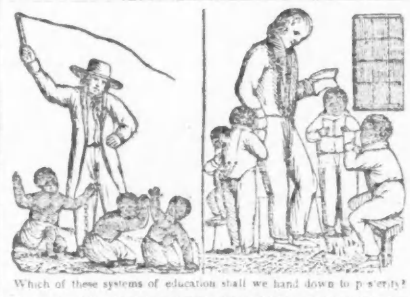
In all Mr. Winslow's remarks touching this point, the constitution, the laws, the authority vested in government, and the obligations of government to protect the citizens in the exercise of their rights, seem to be left out of view. We do not believe that a single case of violence, riotous violence, has occurred in all the history of mobs in our country, for the last four years, which, if the magistracy had promptly and faithfully done their duty, might not have been prevented.

On the whole, there are two things in this discourse which we especially regret.

1. Brother Winslow has indirectly and unwittingly given countenance to mobs, riots, and lawless assemblages, by his erroneous definition of republican liberty, by casting the blame of mobs upon those who, in the exercise of their rights, happen, as did Peter, and John, and Paul, to excite them; in short, he has explained and vindicated *Lynch* law, upon evangelical principles.

2. He has done great injustice to the character and death of our departed, beloved, martyred brother, who was sacrificed in defence of principles and rights, dear to every descendant of the pilgrims, principles upon which rests the perpetuity of our free institutions—the perpetuity of our holy religion. And we do hope, for the honor of Christianity, that brother Winslow will see it to be *expedient*, in some way, to take back what he has erroneously, though with the best intentions, said touching these two points.

These remarks are made with none other than kind feelings. We have "withstood brother Winslow, because he was to be blamed." He may be, and probably is, a much holier, better man than the writer, but in this matter, we are confident that he is in the wrong. DAVID ROOT.



Which of these systems of education shall we hand down to posterity?

HERALD OF FREEDOM.

CONCORD: MARCH 10, 1838.

All men are created equal; are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.
DECLARATION OF 1776.

All men are born equally free and independent; and have certain, natural, essential and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and LIBERTY; acquiring, possessing and protecting property.—CONSTITUTION OF N. H.

☞ The last Christian Advocate and Journal contains only nine columns of matter against abolition and abolitionists. About five columns of this are from the pen of Pres. Fisk, who could not answer a few simple questions put him by Mr. Birney, because he did 'not receive a salary to write for the public.' The Advocate is not yet prepared, say its editors, to enter into the discussion of the slavery question!

☞ An anti-slavery Convention of Methodists of the several eastern Conferences will be held at Utica, N. Y., on the 2d and 3d days of May next. It is expected a large delegation will be present. Dr. Fisk and the Christian Advocate regard the Convention as a violation of the rules of the Methodist Church, and the latter broadly intimates that those who attend it will be called to account for their conduct to the General Conference! If so, that body, in order to do its work up faithfully, [illegible] a little help from home.

☞ The Patriot says Gov. Hill was always in favor of opening the public buildings in this town to the abolitionists. We are sorry his opinions have been so greatly misunderstood, and more that his influence with his townsmen proved so weak. Will the Patriot publish a few extracts from the speech of which his Excellency delivered himself at a certain meeting at the Court House in imitation of one held by "gentlemen of property and standing" in Faneuil Hall, and which, to sustain the imitation throughout, was followed by a mob the succeeding night?

For the Herald of Freedom.

Mr. Kimball,—I saw a capital piece of pro-slavery argumentation in Zion's Herald, taken from Col. Stone's Commercial Advertizer, headed "Alton *Affair.*" (He might have called it Alton *fracas* or *folie.*) The Col. says, "it comes from a gentleman of high standing, both in the republic of letters and in the *christian church.*—We have thought much of the melancholly incident at Alton resulting in the death, first of a man *at the hand of Mr. Lovejoy,*" (a falsehood by the way, which Col. Stone is guilty for not knowing—if he don't know it.—Mr. Lovejoy did not kill that man) "and secondly, of Mr. Lovejoy himself. We have endeavored to weigh all the circumstances with candor, &c. The result is a firm persuasion, that although the mob was greatly in the wrong, Mr. Lovejoy was not in the right. We cannot therefore look upon him as a martyr save to his own rashness. *Most emphatically, in our view, does the exclamation of David over the body of Abner apply to Mr. Lovejoy*"!! This italicising is my own—and the two points of exclamation at the end. I respond, with great heartiness, to the Col's. application to Mr. Lovejoy of David's eulogium and lament over the fearless son of Ner. Let the professing Col. Stone open the bible and read in 3d chap. of 2d Samuel, and all his scriptural pro-slavery brethren,—and then see if they will say, that the noble Lovejoy "fell a martyr to his own rashness."

What says the Psalmist of the fallen Abner? "Died Abner as a fool dieth?" Joseph T. Buckingham thinks with Col. Stone—that this charges upon Abner the death of the fool! But read it and see—"And David said to Joab and to all the people that were with him, rend your clothes and gird you with sackcloth, and *mourn* before *Abner.*—And *king David himself followed the bier.*" Was he following a dead "*fool*"! "And the king lifted up his voice and *wept* at the grave of Abner—and all the people wept. And the king *lamented* over Abner and said, Died Abner as a fool dieth?" Does he charge Abner with folly! Does the Saviour accuse himself of theft, when he interrogates the mob, "are ye come out as *against a thief*, with swords," &c. "to take me"? Does Hazael call himself a dog, when he exclaims, "Is thy servant a dog that he should do" &c. "Am I a dog's head," said the son of Ner in this very chapter.

"As a man falleth before wicked men," continues king David at the grave, "so fellest thou"—"so do God to me and more also if I taste bread or aught else till the sun be down."—"Know ye not that there is a *prince* and a *great man* fallen this day in Israel"—a *fool* indeed!—"Most emphatically" would I join with Col. Stone, in saying "the exclamations of David over the body of Abner apply to Mr. Lovejoy."

"I am weak"—continues the king—"I am this day *weak*, though anointed king."

Really it is melancholly that men of the pretensions and the professions of Col. Stone are so ignorant of scripture and so presumptuous in quotation; but it is striking, that he should make so appropriate a blunder, and so apt and fitting an application.

"Died Lovejoy as the fool dieth?" well may the land cry out.—Verily is "a prince and a great man fallen in Israel"—but let not anti-slavery, in whose cause he fell, deem itself "*weak*" thereby—nor say that "these sons of Zeruiah" (or of Belial) "are too hard for me,"—for from the grave of Lovejoy has arisen a spirit that shall ring terror to the soul of this land, till the death-day of slavery. His blood shall fertilize the American earth, till it sprout and teem with the moral "dragon teeth," like the fabled land of old. HAMPDEN.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Grafton County Anti-Slavery Convention.

Convened at Campton on the 22d February at 10 o'clock A. M. at the West Cong. meeting house. Called to order by Col. Davis Baker of Campton. Prepared for organization by calling Col. Isaac Crosby of Hebron to the chair, and William W. Russell of Plymouth to be Secretary.

Prayer by Rev. T. Parnell Beach of Campton.

On motion Col. D. Baker, Jona. Cummings, Esq. and Capt. Elijah Noyes were appointed a committee to receive and report names, &c. of delegates.

Voted that all persons present friendly to the anti-slavery cause be invited to sit and act in the convention.

Stephen Morse, Esq. and Messrs. David Bartlett and Washington George were appointed the committee of nomination of officers of the convention.

Rev. Mr. Beach, N. P. Rogers, Esq. Rev. Messrs. Philip Chamberlain, Daniel Pulsifer and Thomas Sanborn were appointed committee to report resolutions and business for the convention.

Officers of the convention reported—

Col. I. Crosby, *President.*
Noah Cummings, } *Vice Presidents.*
E. W. Batchelder, }
W. W. Russell, *Sec'y.*

Notwithstanding the severe weather and the state of the travelling, the names of fifty four delegates were reported, which with other attendant friends, men, women and youth, made up a very respectably numerous assembly—much larger than was expected under the circumstances.

The following resolutions reported by the committee were considered—most of them discussed and all of them adopted—generally by a unanimous vote.

Resolved, That we have a deeper conviction than ever of the truth of our doctrine, and of its fitness to accomplish its end—viz: that emancipation is the sacred, unforfeited *Right* of the slave, and the imperative—immediate *duty* of the master.'

Resolved, That nothing can secure to the People of this country the blessings sought for in the adoption of the constitution—or prevent the dissolution of the national Union—or the utter loss of our civil and religious liberties, but the speedy abolition of American slavery.

Resolved, That the tenure, by which any and every man in the land holds his liberties, and the only secure and availing tenure—is the great, self-evident truth, that all men are NATURALLY, EQUALLY AND INALIENABLY FREE.

Resolved, That whenever the sacred doctrine of *man's inalienable birth right to equal liberty* is allowed to be infringed by the enslavement of a single human being in the land—no matter what his condition—his country—his language or his complexion, or any mortal contingency or circumstance whatsoever—that moment the great *common* charter and title deed of national liberty is cancelled and *we are all slaves.*

Resolved, That a people like ours, who will acquiesce in the enslavement of any member of the human family—much more of one sixth of their own number—deserve, in common and even handed justice—themselves to be made slaves.

Resolved, That Negro slavery at the South subsists by force of northern acquiescence and assent, and northern prejudice against the slave color, and that nothing but northern repentance and reformation in this behalf can open the way for Negro emancipation.

Resolved, That the principles and the measures of the anti-slavery society are the means and the only means of peacefully effecting this great and glorious object and result,—and that these are, under God, rapidly hastening their accomplishment.

Resolved, That every where throughout the land—north and south—in nation and states—in legislature and Congress, we behold omens and tokens the most encouraging, animating and assuring to the heart of the abolitionist.

Resolved, That our cause is of God, and MUST prevail; and yet it behooves us—as well for our own sakes as for the cause—to be devoted and active instruments in its advancement.

Resolved, That slavery, whatever be its character and however established among us, receives no authority or approbation from, nor is guarantied by the federal constitution.

Resolved, That treachery to country and to liberty marks the conduct and character of that individual, public or private, who lends himself to the wicked, unconstitutional, union-dissolving project of annexing Texas to this Union.

Resolved, That in the genuine republican principles of abolitionists, and in the accomplishment of the great work in which they are engaged—are involved the highest interests of our free institutions—and the truest happiness and glory of our country.

Resolved, That we hail with admiring approbation the intrepidity and faithfulness of the veteran Adams—standing in the breach as he does, for our right of petition—an over match for infuriated southern *slaveholding*—reinforced by the cowering *slavery* of the North.

Resolved, That we disavow indignantly all portion in the constituency of that delegation in Congress from New-Hampshire who aided in voting down our right of petition; that we abjure all responsibility for their treacherous servility, and deny that they at all represent us, or any freemen, and we hereby warn our southern brethren against giving heed to their slander of our principles and purposes, and their misrepresentations of our numbers and rapid increase.

Resolved, That we regard the conduct of all those representatives from the free states who supported Mr. Patton's resolution of the 21st of December, insulting as it was to every freeman in this land, as sufficient proof of that treachery or ignorance which unfits them to represent people who prize liberty to pray, as they do life itself.

Resolved, That we individually renew our dedication of fortune, reputation, and life even, to the advancement of this holy cause of equal and universal liberty.

On motion of David Ames, *Resolved,* That slavery always was, is now, and from its very nature always must be *malum in se*—the theology and authority of Dr. Fisk and professor Stuart to the contrary notwithstanding.

On motion of Jona. Cummings, Esq. *Resolved,* That we have as much reason to wonder with great admiration at the dereliction of the American slaveholding church and its ministers from the purity of the pilgrim church established on the rock at Plymouth, as St. John had to see the apocalyptic woman, which was clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, become the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth; and that the church of this land, in the nineteenth century, needs another Luther to reform it from the abomination of slavery—a corruption worse than that of the man of sin of the sixteenth century.

For the Herald of Freedom.

War and Duelling not Congenial with the Letter or Spirit of Christianity.

Jesus Christ the great founder and author of the christian religion took occasion in his ever memorable sermon on the mount, specifically to enumerate some of the moral precepts of the Jewish law, and to teach his disciples that they should carry these to a much higher degree of perfection in their lives under the new dispensation which he came to establish. Christianity required of its disciples the utmost perfection which human nature was capable of attaining, inasmuch as it was to be the last dispensation of God to man. Under the law, men were forbidden to kill; but under the gospel they were not even to cherish a spirit of revenge. "For I say unto you, resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you," &c. "Be ye therefore perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect." Every person who embraces christianity as thus taught by its divine Author, and has an experimental knowledge of the love of God to man, and the good will men should cherish for each other, must abhor and detest that most brutal and barbarous of all Gothic customs, duelling. But it is a lamentable fact, that in the nineteenth century, in a professedly christian land, under the mid-day sun of christianity, which breathes nought but peace and good will to man, that our citizens are no better taught, and we are now called upon to deplore the prevalence of this murderous custom. Yes, a native son of New-Hampshire has fallen by the hand of a fellow murderer. It is difficult to conceive what preposterous principles can actuate men when they appeal to arms and attempt to take the life of each other for the settlement of differences, and these often of the most trivial nature. Justice should surely be the ultimate wish of every man in the settlement of casual differences; but the justice or satisfaction there can be in taking the life of a fellow being is such as can be enjoyed only by a brute or a fiend. In an appeal to arms the injured man not unfrequently falls, while the aggressor is spared and adds to his offence by making a widow to mourn the loss of a beloved husband, and fatherless children to weep for the loss of a kind father, whose industry and hitherto good name was their only support. The duellist may conceive that he is adding laurels to his reputation by these savage decisions; but surely he can have no other character with the good and virtuous, than a poor, base, and infuriated monster, fit only to be ranked with the vilest wretches that ever disgraced the human form. If he falls he is pitied only for his folly and his crime. No philosophy can praise his courage; for in the midst of a corrupt public sentiment that prevails among gentlemen in its favor, and the dread of being called a coward, it requires more wisdom and manly fortitude in a high spirited man to refuse a challenge, than it does to go into the field and face a murderer. No worthy statesman can appeal to his patriotism while he is in-

the open violation of the laws of his country, and the more sacred laws of his country's God. No christian can approve of his morality when he reflects on the relative duties of man; on the moral law of love and benevolence which should at all times govern his actions; on the pacific principle that it is more noble to suffer wrong than to resist; and above all, on the probability that he may be both guilty of murder and suicide by the same act. Let gentlemen say what they will in favor of the system, and talk of honor, courage and noble bearing in an appeal to arms for the vindication of their insulted dignity; the practice had its origin in the worst principles of the human heart; and the actors and abettors of the system are under the influence of the corrupt and fallen nature of man; and they can be viewed by christians in no other light than that of murderers. When I think of the lamented Cilley, and remember his disconsolate wife and fatherless children, I cannot but weep for the crimes of my countrymen in the desecration of our most holy religion. The prevalence of this Gothic custom augurs ill of the morality of our public teachers of religion, that more than eighteen hundred years since the first promulgation of the gospel, and of the first principles of which was to subdue the passions and substitute the benign principles of peace and love. That we still hear the alarm of war shows a great defect in moral principle, and indeed too many of our clergy still help to sustain this anti-christian spirit of rebellion, for it is a notorious fact that they are still seen at regimental trainings at the head of our militia, stretching out their sacerdotal hands to God in solemn prayer for the success and glory of our arms in this murderous work of human slaughter. Alas! alas!—for for this solemn mockery of Almighty God, will he not visit for these things? Had all the American clergy branded this brutal system of duelling with everlasting infamy, and treated the supporters of it as unworthy of being ranked with civilized beings, as the Quakers, Shakers and Moravians have always done, the system would have long since disappeared from civilized America, and would have been known only in some of the more barbarous States of the old world.

CHARLES HOAG.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Anti-Slavery Principles Triumphant.

REASONS WHY.

1. The pro-slavery party refuse to come forward and discuss the slavery question fairly and freely; but deal in angry denunciations, misrepresentation, mobs and Lynchism, in their opposition to the abolitionists, which is demonstrative proof that the slavery cause is a bad one; and to discuss the question relative to the abolition of slavery is to expose it clearly, in all its naked deformity, loathsomeness and horrid barbarity; realizing probably as regards slavery, the force of the poet's sentiment adopted in regard to vice, that it "is a monster of so hateful mien, as to be hated, needs but to be seen;" so they desire not to talk about slavery, but are quite ready to talk against abolition and those who *will* talk about slavery.

2. Abolitionism has one peculiar trait, and will insure its final triumph, which is onward. If it be opposed by angry denunciation, misrepresentation, mobs or their leader, his honor judge Lynch, it is onward; and if they affect to let it alone that it may famish and die, it is then onward; and if it be pushed forward it is onward still.

3. Abolitionism has all to gain and nothing to lose, whereas slavery has all to lose and nothing to gain; (and this in a word accounts for the craft used by the slavites and pro-slavery men to avoid all discussion of the "delicate question,") for there was a time when in this country abolitionism was exceedingly small, but slavery was enormously great. And just in proportion as abolitionism increases in greatness and strength, so must slavery decrease in strength and greatness, i. e. as to its standing in the public mind, till finally it will cease to be. What abolition gains slavery must lose.

4. Anti-slavery principles are peace principles, gospel principles, founded in truth, justice, equity and mercy. They are indestructible, abiding; the more they are tried by fire the more purified they become and shining. The slavery demon has made his highest demand for the suppression of abolition*ism* and the *'ists*. Opposition has sounded its highest notes of alarm; but the *'ism* stands, and the *'ists* go ahead. But say some, there will be wars and fightings; suppose there should and the Union be divided too; this will not stop the onward progress of the principles, for they are such as every person in the community will sooner or later adopt, however great their opposition to them may now be. "Truth is mighty and will prevail;" this has been the case so far as related to the slave question in other countries, and who doubts it will be the case in this. Mr. Gurley, secretary of the American Colonization Society, has said that slavery cannot stand if the question is permitted to be openly and freely discussed.

It is the declaration of truths or facts in the case, and holding them up constantly to public view, and pressing them home upon the consciences of the guilty, that any prevailing vice, or wicked and abominable system ever was or ever can be reformed. The wickedness of the wicked must be made to appear, that they may see it and feel it; that they may see it and forsake it. So in the temperance cause; the evils arising from the use of ardent spirits as a drink were made to appear—men saw and abandoned its use. The evils growing out of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks have been and are being shown. Men see and abandon the traffic.

Popery dreads nothing more than the light of truth, it writhes in the agonies of death under its influence. Slavery dreads nothing more than the light of truth, thrown upon it by free discussion. The great reformers, Luther and his coadjutors, exposed the wickedness, the abominations of the system of popery, by discussing the subject. They were opposed, denounced, anathematized, mobbed and Lynched by the advocates of popery; but they turned not back the wheels of reform, neither stopped they the progress of protestant principles.

Wilberforce, Garrison, Thompson, as well as others of kindred spirit, have lighted a flame to expose the abominations of that master piece of Satan slavery in the United States. But they are opposed, denounced, mobbed and Lynched by the slavites and their abettors; but their principles they do not, will not, cannot stop.

5. Anti-slavery principles and abolition measures are such as God approves and blesses.

God is on the side of abolitionists, for reasons already assigned. This we dare to assert, as we declare that abolition principles are founded in truth, justice and equity. This assertion may however be denied by those who relish slavery, or disrelish abolitionism. But such denial avails nothing until the principles of the abolitionists are disproved to be sound, according to truth and righteousness.

They must be proved to be anti-christian principles, before they can be hindered in their spread. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."

The abolition measures are consistent with the principles abolitionists aim to diffuse through the whole community—the doctrine that slaveholding is sin, and ought to be immediately abandoned. Their object is the abolition of slavery by moral means; hence they act consistent whilst they discuss the subject freely and canvass it thoroughly.

Again, let us examine this subject in another form. Enslaving, and holding men in slavery is practiced by men, and by some who profess to be christians. Did God ever approve of unconditional enslaving and slaveholding? Does he now approve of it? If he ever did, and has never declared nor revealed his disapproval, then enslaving men and slaveholding in America or elsewhere is no sin, is not vile, notwithstanding Rev. John Wesley has said "American slavery is the vilest that ever saw the sun."

But if God ever did disapprove of, or condemn oppression by man's unconditionally enslaving his fellow man and holding him in unrighteous bondage, and has never revealed his willingness that such things should be, then slavery is sin and Dr. Fisk is a sophist notwithstanding his self righteousness concerning the abolition question; and God is with the abolitionists, for the theory and the practice of the abolitionists are agreeable to the attributes of the Almighty, or in other words, to truth and righteousness, as was the theory and practice of the apostles at the time they were commanded by the rulers and elders of Israel not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus.

Concord, Mar. 1838. N. H. COTTAGER.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Mr. Editor,—I am and have been a republican ever since the declaration of war in 1812. I am likewise an abolitionist and have been from a child; and when the question was started in good earnest I rejoiced, supposing that every man, woman and child at the North would petition Congress to abolish slavery in all places under its jurisdiction. You may well judge of my chagrin on beholding the opposition which has been continually shown to this good cause. Many times has my heart been pained to see the opposition of christians, their refusals of their houses of worship for the discussion of the evil, and the almost total neglect to pray for the poor slave. I have likewise been disappointed many times in our public men. I voted for Van Buren electors, supposing that should public sentiment become rectified under his administration, and Congress should pass an act for the abolition of slavery in the places under the special jurisdiction of the general government that he would gladly sanction the bill; but when I read his inaugural and found him to say, that "no bill abolishing slavery in the district of Columbia should ever receive his official sanction without the consent of the slaveholding states" I put a mark upon him. I watched Gov. Hill and when in his first message he unqualifiedly denounced abolitionism I marked him, and have not since voted for him. I now intend to act on the principle, that "every vote is moral capital," to vote is the duty of every citizen, and when he is carrying the same he should consider, not that he should vote for the good of his party, but for the good of his country, for himself and his posterity. I shall vote for neither Gov. Hill nor Gen. Wilson, but I intend to vote and that too for an abolitionist.

I was induced to make these remarks in consequence of the communication in your last paper of "An Abolitionist." From his remarks I presume he has belonged to the same political party with myself, and I am sorry to find after he has left one error that he has embraced another equally as bad or rather worse, for Gov. Hill is much clearer in his views of the right of the poor fugitive to a jury trial than is Gen. Wilson. "An Abolitionist" considers Gen. Wilson right in the main, because he acknowledges slavery to be wrong; but I do not believe that there is a pro-slavery man in this state of good common sense but will admit that slavery is a great moral evil, and ought to be done away whenever a proper time arrives and the proper measures are adopted, and how much farther does Gen. Wilson go? This to me is no abolitionism at all; it is condemning our principles and measures in toto.

But, "An Abolitionist" may ask, why not make a selection, as we must have one of the two for governor? I answer, let every abolitionist in this state throw a scattering vote, and should there be no choice by the people, the minority party would at the next election bring forward a thorough going abolitionist; but if the different political parties whip us into their ranks this year, they will attempt it next, and we shall continue to be blest with pro-slavery governors, and our opponents will continue to despise our principles.

A DEMOCRATIC ABOLITIONIST.

Somersworth, Feb. 28, 1838.

CONGRESS.

IN HOUSE. Wednesday, Feb. 14.

The House having determined to suspend all other business to allow of the presentation of petitions, and the State of Massachusetts having been called upon in its turn—

Mr. Adams said he had about three hundred and fifty petitions, which it became his duty to present, signed by about *thirty-five thousand* persons. This duty he wished to perform with as little consumption of the time of the House as possible. He should be obliged, therefore, to depart from his usual practice of presenting petitions one by one, announcing the object, the name of the town or district from which it came, with the number of petitioners, and the name of the first signer to each petition. Instead of doing which, he proposed to offer them by classes, stating the number of petitions of each class, and, as well as he could, the number of petitioners whose names came within each class. Among these petitions, Mr. A. said, he had a number respecting which he doubted whether they came within the order of the House, that petitions of a certain description should be laid upon the table without reading, and without any action of the House upon them. It had happened that a great degree of excitement had been produced in certain portions of the country by the proceedings of the House in regard to that description of petitions, and the effect of those proceedings, and of the excitement occasioned by them, had been very much to multiply those petitions which the House seemed so little disposed to receive, and to treat in the manner in which, in his opinion, such petitions ought to be treated. In consequence of which, petitions had been forwarded to him of an anomalous character, equivocal and ambiguous in their expressions. They were of two descriptions; the one from a geographical portion of the Union attached to certain institutions—

Mr. Pickens here rose to a point of order. He understood that one of the rules of the House forbids debate upon the presentation of petitions. He wished to know from the Speaker whether this indirect manner of debating the nature of petitions was allowed by that rule. He did not wish to avoid the debate, but to know whether it was or was not conformable to the rules of the House.

Mr. Adams said he had stated that he did not wish unnecessarily to consume the time of the House by presenting separately each of the petitions confided to him; because the act of doing so would consume not only the whole of this day, but the whole of another day in addition to it. He wished, therefore, to state his motive for offering the petitions, as he proposed to do, by classes.

The Speaker said that the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to present such petitions either individually or by classes; but that an argument preceding such presentation would not be within the rule of the House, which requires that petitions shall be presented without debate.

Mr. Adams said he wished to keep within the rules of proceeding, but he wished to state that, knowing the contents of the petitions, he could not present them in classes without stating the considerations by which he was influenced in the classification.

The Speaker stated again the rule which forbade debate on the presentation of petitions. If the gentleman from Massachusetts (said he) has petitions [illegible] he will present them without debate.

Mr. Adams said he feared he should be under the necessity of presenting each of the petitions separately, and stating the contents, &c., of each in its turn.

The Speaker said he could not undertake to regulate the manner in which the gentleman should present petitions. He could only obey the law which the rules prescribed for his government.

Mr. Adams said he could not discharge properly his duty to the People of Massachusetts and others who had entrusted him with petitions, unless allowed to make the explanations which he proposed.

The Speaker said he could not, determine, in the discharge of his duties, between the member from Massachusetts and other members of the House. He must apply the rule in the same manner to the gentleman from Massachusetts as to other members; and that rule forbade debate upon the presentation of petitions.

Mr. Adams then proceeded to present, in succession, a number of petitions, stating, in succession, their contents; among which were the following:

Of Levi S. Backus, a deaf mute, residing in the county of Montgomery, in the State of New York, sole proprietor and conductor of a newspaper, which he prays may be allowed to circulate through the mail free of postage.

Of Michael H. Barton, of the county of Yates, in the State of New York, and of inhabitants of said county in his behalf, praying an appropriation to enable him to test the usefulness of his newly invented alphabet and system of orthography.

Of Sherlock S. Gregory, of the county of Rensselaer, in the State of New York, praying an inquiry into the consistency of the practices and professions of the Government of the United States in its dealings with the aborigines of this country.

Of Sherlock S. Gregory, praying an inquiry into the situation of the Army of the United States, with respect to the Cherokee, Choctaw, or any other tribe of Indians.

Of Sherlock S. Gregory, praying an inquiry into the causes of the Florida war.

Of Sherlock S. Gregory, praying to be considered an alien, or stranger in the land, so long as slavery exists, and the wrongs done to the descendants of the ancient Israelites in this country are unrepented of.

Of Daniel Judson, of Oneida county, in the State of New York, praying for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the expediency of constructing a wall upon the plan of the celebrated wall in the north of China, to be called the wall of freedom, and to commence in the Atlantic ocean, at or near the Carrituck inlet, and running thence, via the south lines of the States of Virginia and Kentucky, to the Mississippi river, and so on to the Pacific ocean; and he asked the decision of the Chair as to whether that came under the rule of the 21st of December last?

The Chair decided that it did not.

Mr. Mercer moved to lay it on the table.

Mr. Adams hoped the memorial would be read.

Mr. Loomis moved its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Mercer's motion prevailed.

Mr. Adams next presented a memorial, praying Congress to make an appropriation for the relief of Mrs. Lovejoy; which, on motion of Mr. Haynes, was laid on the table.

At this point, Mr. Mercer rose, and asked if it was not usual to send petitions which were upon the same subject to the table together?

Mr. Adams said that he had several memorials which he should thus present. But those he was now offering, could not be classified. They had relation to distinct subjects, on each of which it was important to take the sense of the House, as to their reference, singly.

Mr. Adams presented the petition of sundry citizens of Ohio, praying Congress to change the seat of Government; which he moved to refer to a select committee.

On motion, this petition was laid upon the table.

The petition of sundry persons against the resolution of the House adopted, on motion of Mr. Patton, on the 21st of December last; also, praying for the protection of citizens going from the northern to the southern states.

Mr. Adams said that it had been threatened that—

The Chair reminded Mr. A. that this was not the time to debate a petition.

Mr. Campbell, of South Carolina, rose, and remarked that the South were easily enabled to distinguish their friends—

The Chair remarked that the subject was not now open for debate.

Mr. Adams said he was not about to debate the question at all. He was only saying, that it had been threatened in another wing of the Capitol, [order! order!] that if a northern abolitionist were to be caught at the South, [order! order!] he would be taken and hanged! [Here the cries of order! were very loud and long.]

The Chair. The gentleman from Massachusetts will take his seat.

This memorial was then ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Adams then presented two memorials, praying Congress would alter the laws of the District of Columbia, in accordance with the suggestion of the President of the United States, in his recent Message.

Mr. A. asked that that portion of the Message which was referred to be read. Refused, and the memorials, on motion, were laid on the table.

A petition praying Congress to inquire into the causes of the delays and prolongation of the Florida campaigns.

Mr. A. said he had hoped that that subject would have been gone into before this, as moved by the gentleman from Virginia. And he would then make a motion to that effect, if he thought that, in his present situation, the House would listen to any motion of reference from him. As it was, he would simply move to refer the memorial to the Committee on Military Affairs; which motion prevailed.

Petion from the same individual from whom a memorial was received at the late session of Congress, praying Congress to make him an alien, with additional reasons why such prayer should be granted. He moved to refer this memorial to the Committee on the Judiciary. So referred.

Petition from the ministers and members of the Lutheran Evangelical Church, in the State of New York, 92 in number, (principally ministers of that connexion,) which petition Mr. A. requested the Speaker to decide upon, in relation to the resolution of the 21st December last.

The Chair said that the regular mode was for the member offering the petition to make a brief statement of contents.

Mr. Thompson moved to lay it on the table. So ordered.

Petiton of Aaron Clark, Mayor of the City of New York, and 15 or 20 other citizens of that city, all respectable, [illegible] Congress across the isthmus of Panama.

Motions were made,

1. To lay this memorial on the table.

2. To refer it to the committee on Roads and Canals.

3. By the mover, to refer it to a select committee.

The motion to lay it on the table being lost, that to refer it to the committee on Roads and Canals prevailed—Ayes 81, noes not counted.

65 petitions, signed by about 6,500 persons, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Laid on the table under the order.

16 petitions, signed by about 1,600 persons, praying for the same in the Territories. Same disposition.

19 petitions asking Congress to pass laws prohibiting the traffic of slaves in the States.—Same disposition.

19 petitions praying that Congress would pass no law annexing any new State to the Union, the Constitution of which tolerates slavery. Same disposition.

53 petitions, signed by about 6,000 persons, remonstrating against the annexation of Texas to the Union.

Mr. Adams here remarked, that, as the Speaker had decided that these memorials did not come under the rule of the 21st December, some gentleman must, of course, get up and move to lay them on the table.

Mr. Glascock observed, that, as a special favor to the gentleman from Massachusetts, he would make that motion. Ordered accordingly.

158 petitions, signed by about 20,000 persons, praying Congress to rescind the resolution adopted, on motion of Mr. Patton, on the 21st of December, 1837.

Mr. Adams said that he had given notice of his intention to move the reference of this subject to a select committee. He hoped that he should not be interrupted, while he made a short statement of the reasons why he had not done so.

Mr. Patton interposed. He must certainly object to any statement, out of order, which the gentleman should make.

Mr. Adams said that he should endeavor not to transgress the laws of the House. He could very well understand why the gentleman from Virginia felt so sensitively an allusion to that resolution. He then went on to say that his colleague, (Mr. Lincoln,) had already made a motion to refer that subject to a select committee. That motion had been disposed of in the usual way. The double operation, of moving to consider, and of laying that motion on the table, had been used successfully, and the debate had been, as usual, smothered. He should not move it again, at this time, as he supposed a similar disposition of the motion would be made to that which awaited it when offered by his colleague. The vote would doubtles be just the same, 128 to 75. These ingenious devices had so completely stopped the mouths of members as to the petitions presented here, in the name of the people, that he did not mean to trouble the House, at this time, with taking the yeas and nays upon the same motion, knowing as he did that the same result must follow. He would say to the House, what the *Abbe de Berais* said to the *Cardinal Fleury*, who told him, in reply to his petition for a place, that he should never have one while he (the Cardinal) lived! "Sir," said the Abbe, "I can wait!" And so, Mr. Speaker, (said Mr. A.) can I. I CAN WAIT!

The Chair. What disposition does the gentleman from Massachusetts propose for these memorials?

Mr. Adams. I move to lay them on ——. No! no! I am well nigh catching the infection myself! I move to refer them to a select committee, with instructions to report.

On motion these memorials were laid on the table.

A great number of petitions, remonstrances, &c., were presented, without remark, from all parts of the Northern States.

CHAPTER OF NEWS.

Affairs in Canada.

By the reports which reach us from the north, it seems that warlike movements are not at an end, and that hostile operations are about being commenced in sober earnest. It is said that McKenzie collected an army on Hickory Island, on the 22d of February, numbering from 500 to 2000, and marched upon Brockville, a village in Upper Canada, about a dozen miles from Ogdensburg, in New York, and there liberated a number of prisoners. It is also reported that a Patriot army has been organized in Lower Canada. The Provisional Government has issued a Declaration setting forth, among other things,

"That from this day forward, the *People of Lower Canada* are absolved from all allegiance to Great Britain, and that the political connexion between that power and Lower Canada is now dissolved.

That a *republican* form of Government is best suited to Lower Canada, which is this day declared to be *a republic*.

That under the Free Government of Lower Canada, all persons shall enjoy the same rights; the Indians shall no longer be under any civil disqualification, but shall enjoy the same rights as all other citizens of Lower Canada.

That all union between Church and State is hereby declared to be *dissolved*, and every person shall be at liberty freely to exercise such religion or belief as shall be dictated to him by his conscience.

That Imprisonment for debt shall no longer exist, excepting in such cases of fraud as shall be specified in an act to be passed hereafter by the Legislature of Lower Canada, for this purpose.

That sentence of Death shall no longer be passed nor executed, except in case of murder.

That the liberty and freedom of the Press shall exist in all public matters and affairs.

That *trial by jury* is guaranteed to the People of Lower Canada in its most extended and liberal sense, in all criminal suits, and in civil suits above a sum to be fixed by the Legislature of the State of *Lower Canada*.

That to secure the elective franchise, all elections shall be *by ballot*.

That with the least possible delay, the people shall choose Delegates according to the present division of the country into Counties, Towns and Boroughs, who shall constitute a convention, or Legislative Body, to establish a Constitution according to the wants of the country, and in conformity with the disposition of this Declaration, subject to be modified [illegible]

That every male person of the age of 21 years and upwards shall have the right of voting as herein provided, and for the election of the aforesaid delegates.

In addition to this the "commander in chief of the Patriot army" issued his proclamation, setting forth the enormities of the mother country, and the grievances of the people, and promising to all who aid the suffering patriots in their "patriotic exertions" to extend to them "the hand of fraternity and fellowship;" and security and protection to all such loyalists as shall lay down their arms and cease to annoy them.

By subsequent accounts, it seems that the patriot army which entered Canada from Alburgh on the 28th of February, has disbanded, and that Nelson, the commander-in-chief, and Cate, another officer of distinction, are at St. Albans, in the custody of General Wool.

County Anti-Slavery Societies.—By Eastern papers we learn that a Convention within and for the county of Somerset was to have been holden at the Court house in Norridgewock on the 28th of February last, for the perpose of forming a County Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the Maine State Anti-Slavery Society.

A call is also made for a Convention to meet in Wiscasset on Tuesday next the 13th instant, for the purpose of forming an A. S. Society in Lincoln County, auxiliary to the State Society.

Fire at West Point.—A fire broke out in the Engineering Academy at West Point, on Sunday morning week before last, and destroyed the building, with much valuable property, consisting of models &c. belonging to the engineering department. The library and extensive chemical and philosophical apparatus, were saved with great difficulty.

When will public property be deposited in buildings which are literally fire proof. Has not our government had warnings enough?

The next Monthly Meeting of the Concord Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at the house of Mr. THOMAS W. THORNDIKE on Wednesday evening next at half past six o'clock.

POETRY.

The Compass.

The following beautiful lines are from the London Evangelical Magazine:

The storm was heard—before the blast
Our gallant bark was driven;
Their foaming crests the billows reared,
And not one friendly star appeared
Through all the vault of heaven.

Yet dauntless still the steersman stood,
And gazed, without a sigh,
Where, poised on needle bright and slim,
And, lighted by a lantern dim,
The compass meets his eye.

Thence taught his darkness course to steer,
He breathed no wish for day;
But braved the whirlwind's headlong might,
Not once throughout that dismal night
To fear or doubt gave way.

And what is oft the Christian's life
But storm as dark and drear,
Through which, without one blissome ray
Of worldly bliss to cheer his way,
He must his vessel steer!

Yet let him ne'er to sorrow yield,
For in the sacred page
A compass shines, divinely true,
And, self-illumined, greets his view,
Amidst the tempest's rage.

Then firmly let him grasp the helm,
Though long the billows roar;
And soon, his toils and troubles past,
His anchor he shall safely cast
On Canaan's happy shore!

From the London Weekly Despatch.

The Free.

The wild Arabians bear with headlong sweep
In their endless course o'er the mountain steep,
All fresh and strong they foam along,
Waking the rocks with their cataract song.
My eye hears a glance like a beam on a lance,
While I watch the waters dash and dance,
I burn with glee, for I love to see
The path of any that's free.

The skylark springs—with dew on his wings,
And up in the arch of heaven he sings
Tril-la, tril-la—oh, sweeter far,
Than the notes that come through a golden bar,
The joyous bay of a hound at play,
The caw of a rook on its homeward way,
Oh! these shall be the music for me,
For I love the voice of the free.

The deer starts by with his antlers high,
Proudly tossing his head to the sky;
The bird runs the plain unbroke by the rein,
With streaming nostrils and flying mane;
The clouds are stirred by the eagle's wing,
As the flap of his swooping pinion is heard,
Oh! these shall be the creatures for me,
For my soul was form'd to love the free.

The mariner brave, in his bark on the wave,
May laugh at the wall round a kingly slave;
And the one whose lot is the desert spot,
Has no dread of an envious foe in his cot;
The thrall and slave at the palace gate
Are what my spirit has learnt to hate,
Oh! the hills shall be a home for me,
For I'd leave a throne for the hut of the free.

MISCELLANY.

The late Duel.

Our readers have, we suppose, already heard of the murderous encounter between Hon. Jonathan Cilley, of Maine, and Hon. Wm. J. Graves, of Kentucky, both of them members of the House of Representatives of these United States. We call it *murderous*—and so it was—all the accounts which we have seen, though differing in some details, all conspire to give it this character. It was murder, not only by the moral law, but by the code of duelling itself. The papers abound with rumors, and conjectures and charges, and the community is highly excited, as it ought to be. Among the various statements which have appeared, the following from the seconds themselves is undoubtedly most authentic.—In the course of debate on the subject of the charge of corruption brought against Mr. Ruggles, senator from Maine, Mr. Cilley made some remarks which offended that notorious villain—we cannot find a softer word—and he therefore hurried to Washington for redress. He addressed a note to Mr. Cilley, and forwarded it by the hands of Mr. Graves. Mr. C. declined receiving it, for the reason that he did not choose to be drawn into any controversy with Col. Webb. Several notes then passed between Messrs. Cilley and Graves, for the purpose of obtaining from the former a distinct avowal that he did not decline controversy with Col. Webb on account of his character. This avowal was not made, and the correspondence ended in a challenge from Graves to Cilley, which was promptly accepted, the preliminaries arranged, and on the 23d of Feb. the duel fought. Gen. Jesup was Mr. Cilley's second, and Mr. Wise was Mr. Graves'. We give their statement of the affair from the time the parties started for the fatal ground.

It was agreed that the parties should meet at the Anacosts bridge on the road to Marlborough in Maryland, between the hours of half-past one and half-past two o'clock, P. M., and if either got there first he should wait for the other, and that they would thence proceed out of the District. Accordingly the parties met at the bridge, Mr. Cilley and his party arriving first, and all proceeded, about 2 o'clock, P. M. to the place of meeting. On arriving at the place, Mr. Jones and Mr. Wise immediately proceeded to mark off the ground. They then decided the choice of positions. Mr. Wise won the position, and consequently Mr. Jones had the giving of the word. At this time Mr. Jones was informed by Mr. Wise that two gentlemen, (Mr. Calhoun of Kentucky and Mr. Hawes of Kentucky,) were at some distance off, spectators, but they should not approach upon the ground. Mr. Jones replied that he objected to their coming on the ground, as it was against the articles of the meeting, but he entertained for them the highest respect. Mr. Wise also informed Mr. Jones that, contrary to the terms, he had brought on the ground two rifles; that if he (Mr. Jones) required him to do so, he would immediately send one of them away. Upon Mr. Jones finding that the rifle was unloaded, he consented that it should remain in one of the carriages. There were, it is proper to remark, several persons on the ground, (besides the hack-drivers and the two gentlemen before mentioned at a distance,) who were there without the authority or consent of either party or their friends, as far as is known either to Mr. Jones or Mr. Wise, and one of these persons was supposed to be the owner of the field.—Shortly after 3 o'clock, the rifles were loaded in the presence of the seconds; the parties were called together; they were fully instructed by Mr. Jones as to their position, and the words twice repeated to them, as they would be, and as they were, delivered to them, in the exchange of shots. After this they were ordered to their respective positions, the seconds assumed their places, and the friends accompanying the seconds were disposed along the line of fire to observe that each obeyed the terms of meeting. Mr. Jones gave the word distinctly, audibly, and in regular succession, and the parties exchanged shots without violating in the least a single instruction. They both missed. After, Mr. Wise called upon the friends generally to assemble and hear what was to be said.

Upon the assembling of the friends, Mr. Jones inquired of Mr. Wise whether his friend (Mr. Graves) was satisfied? Mr. Wise immediately said, in substance—"Mr. Jones, these gentlemen have come here without animosity towards each other; they are fighting merely upon a point of honor; cannot Mr. Cilley assign some reason for not receiving at Mr. Graves's hands Col. Webb's communication, or make some disclaimer which will relieve Mr. Graves from his position?" Mr. Jones replied, in substance,—"Whilst the challenge is impending, Mr. Cilley can make no explanations." Mr. Wise said, in substance,—"The exchange of shots suspends the challenge, and the challenge is suspended for the purpose of explanation." Mr. Jones thereupon said he would see Mr. Cilley, and did go to him. He returned, and asked Mr. Wise again—"Mr. Wise, do I understand aright that the challenge is suspended?" Mr. Wise answered—"It is." Mr. Jones was then about to proceed, when Mr. Wise suggested that it was best, perhaps, to give the explanation or reason in writing. Mr. Jones then said, in substance—"Mr. Wise, if you require me to put what I have to say in writing, I shall require you to put what you have said, and may say, in writing." Mr. Wise replied—"Well, let us hear the explanation beforehand, as it may not be necessary to put it in writing." Mr. Jones then proceeded, as he now thinks, substantially to say—"I am authorized by my friend, Mr. Cilley, to say, that in declining to receive the note from Mr. Graves, purporting to be from Col. Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves because he entertained for him then, as he now does, the highest respect and the most kind feelings; but that he declined to receive the note, because he chose not to be drawn into any controversy with Col. Webb." Mr. Wise thinks this answer of Mr. Jones was, in substance, as follows—"I am authorized by my friend, Mr. Cilley, to say, that in declining to receive the note from Mr. Graves, purporting to be from Col. Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, because he entertained for him then, as he does now, the highest respect and the most kind feelings; but my friend refuses to disclaim disrespect for Col. Webb, because he does not choose to be drawn into an expression of opinion as to him." Such is the substantial difference now between the two seconds, as to this answer of Mr. Jones. The friends on each side, with the seconds, then retired from each other to consult upon this explanation. After consultation, Mr. Wise returned to Mr. Jones, and said,—"Mr. Jones, this answer leaves Mr. Graves precisely in the position in which he stood when the challenge was sent." Much conversation then ensued between the seconds and their friends, but no nearer approach to reconciliation being made, the challenge was renewed, and another shot was exchanged in a manner perfectly fair and honorable to all parties.

After this, the seconds and the friends again withdrawn, and very similar conversations to that after the first exchange of shots again ensued. Mr. Jones then remarked: 'Mr. Wise, my friend, in coming to the ground, and exchanging shots with Mr. Graves, has shown to the world, that in declining to receive the note of Col. Webb, he did not do so because he dreaded a controversy. He has shown himself a brave man, and disposed to render satisfaction to Mr. Graves. I do think that he has done so, and that the matter should end here.' To this, Mr. W. replied in substance: 'Mr. Jones, Mr. Cilley has already expressed his respect for Mr. Graves in the written correspondence, and Mr. Graves does not require of Mr. Cilley a certificate of character for Col. Webb; he considered himself bound not only to preserve the respect due to himself, but to defend the honor of his friend, Col. Webb.' These words of Mr. Wise, Mr. Jones recollects, and Mr. Wise thinks he added these words: 'Mr. Graves only insists that he has not borne the note of a man who is not a man of honor, and not a gentleman.' After much more conversation, and ineffectual attempts to adjust the matter, the challenge was again renewed; and whilst the friends were again loading the rifles for the third exchange of shots, Mr. Jones and Mr. Wise walked apart, and each proposed to the other anxiously to settle the affair. Mr. Wise asked Mr. Jones 'If Mr. Cilley could not assign the reason for declining to receive the note of Colonel Webb, that he (Mr. Cilley) did not hold himself accountable to Col. Webb for words spoken in debate?' Mr. Jones replied that 'Mr. Cilley would not assign that reason, because he did not wish to be understood as expressing the opinion whether he was or was not accountable for words spoken in debate.' Mr. Wise then according to his recollection, asked Mr. Jones whether 'Mr. Cilley would not say, that in declining to receive the note of Col. Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, either *directly* or *indirectly*?' To which Mr. Jones replied affirmatively, adding, 'Mr. Cilley entertains the highest respect for Mr. Graves, but declined to receive the note, because he chose to be still not into no controversy with Col. Webb.' After further explanatory conversation, the parties then exchanged the third shot, fairly and honorably, as in every instance. Immediately previous to the last exchange of shots, Mr. Wise said to Mr. Jones, 'If this matter is not terminated this shot, and is not settled, I will propose to shorten the distance. To which Mr. Jones replied, 'After this shot, without effect, I will entertain the proposition.'

After Mr. Cilley fell, Mr. Wise, for Mr. Graves, expressed a desire to Mr. Jones to see Mr. Cilley. Mr. Jones replied to Mr. Wise, 'My friend is dead;' and went on to Mr. Graves, and told him that there was no objection to his request to see Mr. Cilley. When Mr. Jones approached Mr. Graves, and informed him that his request should be granted, Mr. Graves enquired, 'How is he?' The reply was, 'My friend is dead, sir.' Mr. Graves then went to his carriage. Mr. Wise enquired of Mr. Jones, before leaving the ground, whether he could render any service, and tendered all the aid in his power. Mr. Wise and Mr. Jones concur that there were three shots exchanged.

Such is the naked statement of all the material facts and circumstances attending this unfortunate affair of honor, which we make in justice to our friends, to ourselves, to all concerned, to the living and to the dead; and it is made for the only purpose of allaying excitement in the public mind, and to prevent any and all further controversy upon a subject which already is full enough of woe. We have fully and substantially stated wherein we agree and disagree. We cordially agree, at all events, in bearing unqualified testimony to the fair and honorable manner in which this duel was conducted. We endeavored to discharge our duties according to that code under which the parties met, regulated by magnanimous principles, and the laws of humanity. Neither of us has taken the least exception to the course of the other; and we sincerely hope that here all controversy may cease! We especially desire our respective friends to make no publication on the subject. None can regret the termination of the affair more than ourselves, and we hope again that the last of it will be the signatures of our names to this paper, which we now affix.

GEO. W. JONES.
HENRY A. WISE.

STATE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

BY THE GOVERNOR.

A PROCLAMATION

For a Day of Public Fasting and Prayer.

THURSDAY, the twelth day of April next, by advice of the Council, is appointed to be observed by the People of this State as a day of public humiliation, FASTING and PRAYER.

And the Inhabitants of all religious professions are requested on that day to repair to their respective places of worship, and then and there humble themselves before the face of ALMIGHTY GOD, to the end that they may obtain forgiveness of their sins and a happy issue from all their afflictions. And while all the People worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness, let them pray that in the coming season He may visit the earth and bless it, making it very plenteous; that He would preserve them from the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the sickness that wastes at noon day; that He would behold with favor the President of these United States, and prosper the efforts of all in Executive or Judicial authority in the Nation and State, in the faithful discharge of every duty, so that our Rulers shall become a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well; that as for the people of these United States in general, so especially for their Senate and Representatives in Congress assembled, He would be pleased to incline their hearts to aid in the prevention of discord and to the preservation of the integrity and permanency of the Union, and to direct and prosper all their consultations, so that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established and [illegible] that He would direct the Legislatures of the several States in that course which shall promote the best good of each and ensure the harmonious action of the whole within their respective spheres; that he would promote peace and honest friendship between this and other nations, and graciously dispose the savages within our borders, "whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and condition," to desist from that hostility which, in the natural course of things must terminate in their destruction; that He may incline all our hearts to that spirit which teaches us to do to others as we would that others should do unto us, and which will prompt us to be as willing to ascribe to ourselves as to others the consequences of a wayward course; that He would give to the Nation neither the wealth which elates human pride nor the poverty which aggravates human misery, but restore that equal prosperity which shall make glad the heart of every son and daughter of Adam laboring in any laudable and useful occupation; that He will increase and bless the means that are in use to instruct the rising generation, to enlighten the world in useful science, and more than all to spread to distant and benighted corners of the earth that religion of the blessed Jesus which proclaims freedom and peace to all on earth, and is an earnest of never ending felicity in regions beyond the skies.

And all the people are requested on that day to abstain from such recreations and employments as may be inconsistent with its solemnities.

Given at the Council Chamber at Concord this twenty-second day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the sixty-third. ISAAC HILL.

By his Excellency the Governor with advice of the Council.

RALPH METCALF,
Sec'y of State.

A Proper Distinction.

Governor Chittenden, chief magistrate of Vermont was of humble birth, and rose by the force of talent to his exalted station.—Yet while governor of the green mountain empire, he still continued to keep the same tavern, upon the steep hill side, that he kept for many years before. One evening a wagoner drove up and accosted him thus: "Gov. Chittenden, as chief magistrate of Vermont, I render you all due homage; but as landlord Chittenden, I'll thank you to turn out my horses!"

"Lessons of the Past."

This is the title of a Discourse just published—being a sermon on the anniversary of ordination in the North Society, of this city. It was preached by the Pastor, the Rev. Dr. Brazer, before the Society, on Sunday, Nov. 19, 1837. The review of the past which it takes, inculcates important lessons in the finished and forcible style of the writer. The following extract affords reflections not inappropriate to the present period, the closing hours of the year.—*Salem Obs.*

* * * * "The life, growth and progress of the soul is not to be measured by the lapse of years. The character,—the condition of that moral being which we call ourselves,—in most cases, becomes settled and fixed for good or ill, long before the bodily frame decays. Even in youth it often receives a bias that is never afterwards outgrown; and it is liable, at every succeeding step of our existence, to be precluded from further essential change, by the iron grasp of habit. The thought is a startling one that the season of moral probation may be thus early ended, that it may be closed, beyond all hope of earthly redemption, long before the close of life. But even when taken at the longest, this season of moral life and growth is virtually, and in point of fact, if not necessarily, diminished by a variety of circumstances. It is thus diminished by the unconscious days of infancy, and of all that portion of childhood and youth, of pupilage and dependence, which is passed in preparing to live, with scarcely a perception of the moral uses and ends of existence. It is diminished by the whole time surrendered to sleep, and to the necessary care and restoration of the physical frame. It is diminished by all that portion of life which is worn away in severe sickness, weariness, debility, pain, and exhaustion of the body; and by all unavoidable depression, despondency, anxiety, torpor and helplessness of mind. It is diminished by all the hours consumed in listlessness, idle fancies, unavailing wishes, foolish day-dreams, and, in general, by all those "time-wasters" which only serve to annihilate the present, without making any provision for the future. It is diminished, yet further, and yet more deplorably, by every sinful act and indulgence; since vice in all its forms, is not only a negative, but a positive destroyer of time; not only defeats the opportunites of improvement as they pass, but indisposes us to a right use of those which remain."

The Sacred Office and Anti-Slavery.

The objects of the christian ministry are all intimately connected with the anti-slavery cause.

Is it an object of the christian minister to proclaim the nature, justice and purity of the divine law—can he do it without inculcating anti-slavery principles? If he inculcates the duty of loving our neighbor as we love ourselves, does he not smite the whole system of slavery? Can he preach the 5th commandment, and not contravene the claims of the master? Can he preach on the 6th, and not condemn the system of slave legislation at the south? Can he utter a word in behalf of the 7th and not bear his testimony against its licentiousness.—Can he say thou shalt not steal, and not rebuke the slave trade and slaveholding? Can he preach the 9th and not vindicate the rights of the slandered African? Can he say thou shalt not covet, and not denounce the ruling spirit of the whole system?

Is it an object of the christian ministry to lead men to repentance? How can he preach repentance and justify slavery? How can he tell the sinner that he must renounce all sin, and yet excuse him on the subject of slavery? How can he preach *immediate* repentance and not inculcate the duty of *immediate* emancipation? How can he insist that men shall cease to do evil and yet allow them to continue in the evil practice of supporting a tremendously evil system?

Is it an object of the christian minister to unfold the salvation of the gospel and preach for the acceptance of the penitent, a crucified Saviour? How can he do this and then justify one member of the church, bought with the Saviour's blood, in selling another? How can he thus preach the free provisions of grace and yet condemn the law which prohibits them from being taught to read the scriptures?

Is it an object of the christian minister to maintain the social covenant and ordinances of the church? How can he do this and yet not oppose the influence of this dreadful system? Has it not been already proved that the church cannot live, and burn, and shine, with that fearful curse tolerated in her midst?—*N. Y. Evan.*

Gen. Jesup in England.

This would be Wild Cat and Alligator whipper, by his infamous conduct towards the Florida Indians, has exposed us to "the scoffs and jeers of the world." Daniel O'Connell, at a public meeting in London, said:—

"Sir, I cannot restrain myself. It was only the other day, I read a letter in the Morning Chronicle from their Philadelphia correspondent. A person whose Indian name I forget (a voice, "Osceola") but who was called Powell, had carried on a war at the head of the Seminoles, and other Florida tribes, against the people of Florida. He behaved boldly and bravely, fought for his country, and he would have been deified as a hero had he fought in a civilized nation, and testimonials would have been reared to commemorate his deeds as great and numerous as those which have been raised to a Napoleon or a Wellington, but what happens to this warrior? Why, these Americans having made a truce with him, invited him to a conference. He comes under the protection of that truce. Thus confiding in their honor, is he allowed to return? O, no! He is not allowed to return, but is taken prisoner, and carried captive to the fort (shame, shame!) O, cry out shame, and let that cry be heard across the waves of the mighty ocean!"

Christian Consistency.

A christian has no right any where, or under any circumstances, to be any thing else than a christian. He must ask about a political as well as any other act, the question, is it right or wrong? and by the answer to that question he must be guided. It is just as wicked to lie about politics as to lie about merchandise. It is just as immoral to act without reference to the law of God in a caucus, as any where else. To prefer our own interest or party, to that of our country, is treason against that country, and sin against God. And it makes no matter whether that treason be perpetrated with a bullet or a bayonet, at the caucus or in the field. And still more, no man can more surely be putting an end to his religion, than by frequenting any circle where he must enter without his religion. That may find himself in eternity without his religion, and it may not be there quite so easy as it is on earth to resume it. "*There* is no shuffling." "Whoever denyeth me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven."

Savages versus the Arts.

Wretchedness resulting from an excessive desire of the wealthy to indulge in rare and costly luxuries is common. Foolish expenditure for clothing, feasts and superfluous furniture ruins many a rich family. Some individuals cry out against piano fortes, libraries and paintings, as being the most unprofitable objects for which money is expended. As soon as contempt is thus thrown upon the arts, artists are discouraged and society loses the refinement which they introduce. Society without art is unable to appreciate the delicate harmony of the domestic and public relations, and thrills only at the melody of the stirring notes of the courage, heroism and magnanimity of men in a savage state. There are ever found many who condemn the arts and sciences. Those are the savages among us.

Hints to Writers for Newspapers.

Write plain; not merely so plain that the editor can "make it out," but so write that his compositor *cannot fail* to read every syllable. Take care of your orthography.—*Punctuate* correctly, and do not leave half of that task for the editor. Make some distinction between little *u* and little *a*. Dot *i*—cross every *t*. Where *t* and *f* are in the same word do not cross them both. When you cross *t*, do not so place the mark as to leave it doubtful whether you intend it for the *t*, or to emphasize the word immediately above. If you are not quite satisfied with your article re-write it. *Never offer a sentence for publication which you are not willing to meet at the judgement.*—*N. Y. Evangelist.*

Anti-Slavery Music.

FREEDOM'S ALARM, or LOVEJOY'S VOICE FROM THE GRAVE.—Words by Miss S. H. S.; Music composed in eight parts; Copy-right secured according to law; and dedicated and presented to his Bereaved Family, by their sympathizing friend and servant,

REV. JONATHAN CURTIS.

The above Music is to be sold at the Office of the Herald of Freedom, and, as soon as can be forwarded, will be for sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New-York and Cincinnati. Any other responsible Anti-Slavery Agents are requested to send orders to this Office for the same; sell it at 12 1-2 cts per copy, and forward the avails, without deducting any commission, to Mrs. Lovejoy.

It is requested, that, whenever any remittances are made to Mrs. Lovejoy, such notices of them may be given in papers that exchange with the Herald of Freedom, that the same may be copied into that paper.

Johnson's Vegetable HAIR OIL.

A BEAUTIFUL head of hair has always been considered one of the greatest ornaments ever bestowed by nature upon the human frame, and indispensably necessary to the perfection of personal beauty. It is a common complaint among young persons that their hair is falling off or becoming dry and unhealthy, this may be owing to the application of improper and injurious oils, or to the entire neglect of the hair. Without proper attention, diseases of the hair will arise, which are often found to occasion thinness, falling off, and sometimes total baldness. For these evils, and the inconveniences necessarily attending them, Johnson's Vegetable Hair Oil will be found an almost infallible remedy. This Oil was tried in many cases of baldness, thinness and falling off of the hair, before it was offered to the public, and in nearly every instance its beneficial effects have been realized to admiration. It has in many cases been known to produce a new and beautiful growth of hair on heads which were bald; and it will always check that falling off which so frequently occurs. In cases where it becomes dry and ceases to grow, this Oil will very soon render it healthy and produce a rapid and beautiful growth without the least injury to the head; nor does any falling off follow after using it. That loss of hair which so frequently takes place after sickness may be easily prevented by using this Oil. In short no Oil has ever been offered to the public that gives such universal satisfaction, and stands the test of experience like *Johnson's Vegetable Hair Oil.*

For sale by EDWARD BRACKETT.
Concord, April 1, 1837.

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